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POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS

BACON, CORINNE (Compiled by). *Selected Articles on National Defense.* Pp. xxix, 243. Price, \$1.00. White Plains: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1915.

BACON, ROBERT. *For Better Relations with our Latin-American Neighbors.* Pp. viii, 186. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1915.

This book contains a record of international service, the importance of which is not fully appreciated by the people of the United States. Mr. Bacon visited Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru and Panama as the representative of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Interpreting his mission in a spirit of broad statesmanship, he succeeded not only in arousing the interest but also the active coöperation of the leaders of thought and action in these countries in furthering the purposes of the Endowment.

Mr. Bacon's trip marks one of the steps toward the development of closer cultural and intellectual ties with the countries of South America. In the course of this trip Mr. Bacon delivered a number of addresses; especially notable were those delivered at the reception at the National Library in Rio Janeiro, to the Faculty of Law of the University of Buenos Aires, at the Ateneo of Montevideo, at the University of Chile and at the University of San Marcos of Lima.

L. S. R.

BARKER, ERNEST. *Political Thought in England.* Pp. 256. Price, 50 cents. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915.

This small volume affords an exceptionally keen analysis and interpretation of the development of social, economic and political thought in England from 1848 to the present day. The year 1880 affords a sort of rough dividing line "between the general temper and tone of 1864 and the tone and temper of 1914." It marks the change from advocacy of *laissez faire* to advocacy of state interference. The philosophical and scientific background of this change is clearly developed, and contemporary theorizing is critically outlined in a way so suggestive and illuminating as to make very clear the relation of thought to propaganda.

R. C. McC.

BEARD, CHARLES A. *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy.* Pp. ix, 474. Price, \$2.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

In his earlier book, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, Professor Beard essayed to prove that "the Constitution was a product of a struggle between capitalistic and agrarian interests." In this volume he shows that the same interests which had supported and opposed the adoption of the Constitution divided again after its adoption into the two parties of Federalists and Republicans. The alignment of the two parties was primarily economic: the Federalists were made up of "security-holding capitalists, who were quite generally merchants, traders, shippers, and manufacturers," while the Republicans were "the debt-burdened agrarians who had fought the Constitution to the bitter end." In the contest between capitalism and agrarianism is to be found the explanation of the

formation and policies of the political parties during the first decade of our national existence.

The various plans of Hamilton for funding the debt, assumption of the state debts, establishment of a national bank, etc., were primarily capitalistic in character as opposed to agrarian and constituted a distinct bid to the financial, commercial, and manufacturing classes to support the new government. Professor Beard adduces the debates and writings upon these measures to show that these lines were clearly drawn and the issues thoroughly understood; he also, as in his earlier book, ascertains who the principal security-holders were and finds that in the main these supported the fiscal schemes of Hamilton, while those not owning securities voted against funding and assumption. So, too, in their attitude toward taxation, the Jay treaty, the building of a stronger navy, the maintenance of peace with Great Britain in spite of her treatment of our neutral shipping, and various other problems that presented themselves during the decade 1790-1800, the line of cleavage was always the same—the capitalistic Federalists ever pursued their own advantage by advocating these measures, while the agrarian Republicans opposed a system that yielded nothing of material benefit to themselves.

In his treatment of this period, Professor Beard has given us a refreshing discussion of factors which have never been altogether lost sight of, but which have certainly been underemphasized. In his insistence upon the domination of economic interests in determining many of the political issue of an earlier period, he is introducing a true sense of proportion into historical writing. By the use of unprinted sources and of printed material used in a fresh way the author has thoroughly illuminated his subject, and made it impossible for any one to doubt the truth of his thesis.

There is no intimation in the book that the use of the powers of government by the dominant party to enact measures favorable to the property interests involved any personal corruption on the part of those advocating these measures; indeed, they probably correctly represented the interests of their constituencies, just as the opposing Republicans represented the interests of agrarian communities. On the other hand, the author makes no claim that agrarianism was the embodiment of political virtue—"Jeffersonian Democracy simply meant the possession of the federal government by the agrarian masses led by an aristocracy of slave-owning planters." Professor Beard is interested only in showing that the economic conflict between capitalism and agrarianism is the explanation of the growth of parties and their policies. This task he has performed with ability, learning, and poise. It must be said, however, that when this is proved only half the work of rewriting the history of this period has been performed. Even more important is the reconstruction of the economic life and activities of the people. We must know wherein capitalism consisted, what forms it took, and how it functioned, before we can finally determine the influence which it exerted upon politics. Along these lines scarcely a beginning has as yet been made.

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